Citizens' perceptions of corruption and e-governance in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji – the need for a marketing approach

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Abstract: The purpose of this research is to assess citizen's perceptions of corruption and e-governance in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji. The research is based on surveys using structured questionnaires and focus group interviews. Conclusions are derived from a mix of descriptive and inferential analysis. The survey covers a total of 1212 respondents using stratified sampling. Findings reveal that public-sector corruption and demands for bribes are increasing in each country. Only a few people are aware of e-governance and feel that it can help in curbing corruption. The study proposes that to mitigate negative forces in the implementation of e-governance such as corruption, digital divide and urban bias, developing countries need to apply a marketing approach to e-governance services.

Keywords: e-governance; corruption; Jordan; Ethiopia; Fiji; citizen's perception; public-sector marketing.

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1 Introduction

E-governance refers to new processes of coordination, which apply the advancements of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) to governance (Allen et al., 2001). Provision of information and services through electronic means has gained widespread impetus (Henriksson et al., 2007; Amaravadi, 2005). A more fundamental sharing and reorganising of power across all sectors in a society is often foreshadowed.

E-government focuses on a particular aspect of using technology. It refers to modernising State processes with electronic means to improve service performance (Peristeras et al., 2002; Riley, 2003). Backus (2001) characterises e-governance as the application of electronic means in interactions between government and citizens and government and businesses as well, to simplify and improve democratic and business aspects of governance in government operations. In this paper, because of the overlap, the terms 'e-governance' and 'e-government' are used interchangeably. The paper considers e-governance from two perspectives – one as a process and another as an entity practising that process (Belwal and Al-Zoubi, 2008).

The process of e-governance entails transcribing information held by government agencies into electronic form and linking disparate databases for easy information retrieval. Many governments now use ICT to support good governance and to strengthen their relationships with civil societies by providing a range of information using electronic services. The application of ICT in governance often aims to improve efficiency and effectiveness in the public sector, and boosts transparency and accountability of informational and transactional exchanges within the government. Hence, the desired goal of e-governance is not only to streamline sharing of information between government agencies to conduct Government-to-Government (G2G) transactions, but also to simplify Government-to-Citizen (G2C) and Government-to-Business (G2B) transactions.

E-governance systems are also designed to reduce discretionary power and to promote transparency and accountability. A specific e-governance solution aims to prevent the direct dealing of government officials with citizens (and thus avoids the possibility of corruption) through the process of dis-intermediation and online transactions, which can be traced to improve accountability (Garcia-Murillo, 2010). It is envisaged that in a setting of many individuals and many witnesses, corruption would become much more difficult to commit (Cisar, 2003; Tangkitvanich, 2003; Mahmood, 2004; Pathak et al., 2007). In developing countries, corruption and inefficiency of governments are major barriers to economic and social development (Hossan and Bartram, 2010). However, the potential of e-governance in many developing countries remains largely unexploited (Ndou, 2004).

According to Gronlund (2004), e-governance needs to be studied in the context of economic, social and political values. Garson (2005) states that the success of e-government initiatives depends critically on four factors – infrastructure, computerisation and integration, legislation and the attitude of enablers. Similarly, Yonazi et al. (2010) emphasise that the preparedness of governments and citizens, the design and management of services, access limitations, and the organisational contexts of public agencies are crucial factors affecting adoption of e-government by citizens. However, the study of customer focus, which is very important for the success of such provisions, has been less well explored. The attitudes and perceptions of citizens have been relegated to the background, especially in developing countries. Sudy (2009) observes that public services, particularly healthcare, where market mechanisms are not present and where customers do not have choices, need to apply marketing techniques to satisfy their customers.

Referring to public-sector change, Raposo et al. (2006) stress the development of public marketing as an approach to satisfy the needs of citizens more efficiently. Davis' (1989) Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), commonly employed to study user adoption of information systems, also predicts that higher perceptions of usefulness and ease of use increase an individual's intention to use a system. Rogers' (1995) Diffusion of Innovation (DOI) theory, too, emphasises four key elements of diffusion: innovation, time, communication and social systems. Vázquez and Gutiérrez (2008) argue that public-sector administrators should not question the use of marketing. Morgeson III and Mithas (2009) observe significant variability among federal e-government services and their e-business counterpart in the USA, and suggest government agencies to rigorously measure their performance considering consumers as the final and inarguably the most important judges. From each of these approaches, marketing emerges as a potential influential force and a study on public perception is a precursor to it.

Carter and Weerakkody (2008) show that though several studies in the USA and UK have explored citizens' awareness and adoption of e-government services, such cross-national research is sparse in developing countries. This study recognises that citizens' perceptions matter a lot for the success of e-governance (Badria and Alshareb, 2008; McIntyre-Mills, 2010) in developing countries, where end-users are either not much aware or remain largely passive (Weerakkody et al., 2007). Citizens in developing countries need to be made aware of how the use of Information Technology (IT) in government can help them. While Wu et al. (2009) assign higher significance to usability and user aspects (such as interface design issues), it is argued here that government bodies need not only to design services with citizens needs in mind but actively market such facilities to citizens.

Perceptions about the prevalence of corruption suggest that a study of corruption and the extent to which it can be mitigated by e-governance is worthwhile. This study explores

citizens' perceptions of e-governance services in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji. The major research questions were:

1   how citizens perceive corruption and e-governance in the three countries

2   what is their level of awareness of e-governance

3   what the three countries need to strengthen the impact of e-governance on corruption.

The paper provides a comparative account of how ordinary citizens look at e-governance. It examines six specific aspects:

1   capabilities of e-governance

2   compelling reasons for governments to develop and implement e-governance

3   compelling reasons for public to utilise e-governance

4   important features to be employed in e-governance portals to attract citizens

5   citizens' awareness of e-governance

6   corruption in public service agencies.

The paper postulates five hypotheses about citizens' perceptions of corruption and awareness of e-governance. The paper is organised as follows: selection of cases and formulation of hypotheses; methodology; analysis and findings; discussions and policy implications and conclusions. By integrating the concept of e-governance and marketing, particularly, in understanding consumer perceptions to design appropriate e-governance approaches, services or mechanisms to curb corruption, this paper contributes to the existing literature.

2   Cases and hypotheses

African and Pacific countries have been linked regularly with corruption. Indeed, 'Africanisation' is now a term used to describe the effect of corruption in Pacific countries (Huffer, 2005: 119). The Middle East, too, is not free from corruption (Gillespie and Okruhlik, 1988; Ottaway and Carothers, 2004; Rosen, 2006).

We selected Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji for this study because they are developing countries and share some common characteristics that facilitate meaningful comparison. These countries are in similar stages of democratisation and represent three different but prominent geographical regions (South Pacific, Middle East and African regions). All of these countries share similar experiences with e-governance. However, they have been rated differently in terms of corruption or clean governance. Transparency International's CPI (2005) scores[1] were 5.7, 4 and 2.2 for Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji, respectively. The following subsections set the context for studying people's perception of corruption and e-governance in each of the three countries.

2.1   E-Governance in Jordan

Jordan is a small Arab country economically dependent largely on services, tourism and foreign aid (Economic Overview, 2008). Debt, poverty and unemployment are fundamental problems. Broad economic reforms since 1999 have aimed to improve living standards in the long term (Investment Overview, 2008). Specific government

policies, procedures, taxes and legislation have aimed to create an appropriate investment atmosphere (Awamleh, 2002).

Jordan acquired the 53rd least corrupt position in the Corruption Perception Index (2007 CPI score) of 179 countries[2] and was the only Arab country to volunteer for a United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) pilot review.[3] Government reforms are underway to improve competition and foster transparency, but such reforms are still highly susceptible to influences such as family affiliations, business ties, bureaucratic procedures, higher oil prices, regional uncertainties, huge current account deficits, debt and unemployment (Investment Overview, 2008; Economic Overview, 2008). Jordan faces particular challenges in implementing e-governance programmes. It acquires a complex position within the Arab nations. Jordan is an Islamic society, faces a difficult path to further development, has had equivocal experience with democratisation initiatives, and faces a range of other economic, financial and demographic challenges (Hawes, 2005; Blakemore and Dutton, 2003).

Despite that, Jordan has taken significant steps towards improving accountability, public investment, policymaking, public-sector reforms and pay-offs in the long run (MoICT, 2006). The government developed a strategy for development and implementation of 'E-Government' from 2006 to 2009. Consequently, in the recent 2010 United Nations E-Government Survey, Jordan took 4th place in the Arab world after Bahrain, UAE and Kuwait (and 51st among 192 countries) in clean governance. However, Khasawneh (2010) suggests that Jordanian approaches need a clearer understanding of goals and policies if further improvement is to be achieved.

The Investment Overview country report (2008) found that with only one operator of fixed telephone lines currently (but without any stipulation of monopoly), Jordan has a growing mobile phone sub-sector with four mobile telephone service providers and nearly 3 million subscriptions.[4] The country's launch of state-of-the-art wireless broadband access services after liberalisation of the telecom sector was considered remarkable for future growth (East Med, 2008). Although telecom services have improved recently with increased use of digital switching equipments, better access to the telephone system is needed in rural areas and an easier access to pay telephones in urban areas (Investment Overview, 2008). The government does not prevent people from accessing internet content (Blakemore and Dutton, 2003) and there is a relatively high level of commitment among civil services managers for using modern technology (Awamleh, 1996).

The concepts of 'customer satisfaction' and delivery of services satisfying client needs are not yet the main drivers of public administration in Jordan. A focus on procedures rather than results remains prevalent (UNDP, 2007). E-government and e-society strategies, however, are congruent with pressures to implement economic and governance reforms from international bodies such as the World Bank (Blakemore and Dutton, 2003).

2.2   E-Governance in Ethiopia

In the not too distant past, Ethiopia has seen repeated political upheavals. The incumbent government has, nevertheless, declared good governance to be a priority. Currently, Ethiopia spends approximately one-tenth of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) annually on IT. Although Ethiopia's e-government readiness index for 2006 reflected some improvement, its overall ranking slipped from 170th to 172nd during 2005–2008 (United Nations, 2008). In Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index for 2005, Ethiopia ranked 137th

out of 158 countries and its civil services were considered as bureaucratic, inefficient, and lacking transparency and good governance (Pathak et al., 2007).

In ICT-based initiatives, Ethiopia has pioneered different electronic networks at different levels. WoredaNet, SchoolNet, HealthNet and AgriNet are some leading examples. WoredaNet, a terrestrial and satellite-based network, provides ICT services to the government at the federal, regional and *woreda* (district) levels with over 565 *woredas* linked to regional and federal government offices, connecting downstream to around 6000 *kebeles* (the smallest administrative unit of governance)*,* with a target to connect an altogether 18,000 *kebeles* (Chekol, 2008). SchoolNet, a satellite-based network, currently connects 668 secondary schools to a gateway that provides video- and audio-streamed educational programming via VSAT connections. HealthNet enables access to vital healthcare information across the country through 62 points. AgriNet links 50 agricultural research units under regional and federal governments through eight VSAT links (Chekol, 2008).

Ethiopia is one of the few African countries, which still maintains a monopoly in the telecommunications sector. Total telephone line penetration is as low as 5.95 per 1000 people. Most of the ICT infrastructure is concentrated around the capital city. ICT initiatives have been adversely affected by language barriers among tribal population, low ICT skills and lack of awareness of the benefits of ICT (Hare, 2007). However, the mobile sector has seen annual growth of more than 100%, crossing the capacity limit.

Like other developing countries, evidence of corruption is common in Ethiopia. Departments related to land, revenue and *kebeles* are most affected with corruption and favouritism (Pathak et al., 2007). The key drivers of corruption in Ethiopia are poor governance, lack of accountability and transparency, low levels of democratic culture and traditions, lack of citizen participation, lack of clear regulations and authorisation, low level of institutional control, extreme poverty and inequity, and centralisation of authorities and resources. Family and ethnic loyalties and obligations, blurred distinctions between private and public interests, privatisation programmes, weak financial management, inadequate accounting and auditing, a weak legal and judicial system, an over-regulated bureaucracy, deterioration of moral and ethical values, unsound policies, and inefficient civil service systems have also been cited as the drivers of corruption (FEACC 2008: 5 as cited in Gebremedhin (2009)).

Ethiopia is yet to realise the potential benefits of employing ICT to curb corruption in the public sector. Most of the government websites developed to showcase the government's commitment to e-governance have become dysfunctional or obsolete. Bureaucracy remains opaque. However, civil services reforms are underway to control corruption and other problems. These include: establishment of a Public Service Delivery Improvement Policy (PSDIP), an ethics and anti-corruption commission and a code of conduct for public servants (MOFED, 2006). However, the government has taken only the first steps towards encouraging the involvement of ordinary citizens (CIDA, 2005).

2.3 E-Governance in Fiji

Like Ethiopia, Fiji has also faced several ups and downs. The country has witnessed changing forms of governments, alternating between democracy and army rule. Within the country and externally, issues of good governance are very important.

Lack of human capital, limited ICT infrastructure and access, a sharp divide between rural and urban areas, and inflexibility caused by monopoly in the telecom sector imposed major obstacles to growth in the ICT sector (Hassall, 2005; Toland and Purcell, 2002). In

2001, Fiji had a tele-density of 112 per 1000 that far surpassed East Asia and the Pacific; but the country lacked ICT infrastructure and had low internet usage (Pathak et al., 2007). Despite government efforts, Fiji consistently failed to achieve desired changes. Early policy initiatives included: promotion of Fiji's international competitiveness with a well-connected e-society, attempts to bridge the digital divide and keep pace with global initiatives, and a three-year e-governance Business Solution Program and Government Information Infrastructure (GII) Program to improve service delivery (ITAC, 2003; OCED, 2004).

The Transparency International CPI (2005) for Asia and Pacific ranked Fiji with a score of four. However, many Asia-Pacific countries performed poorly, with 13 out of 25 countries scoring three or below, reflecting perceptions of endemic corruption. In this context, Fiji acquired a moderate ranking. Surveys by Larmour (1997) and Crocombe (2001) reveal that corruption in the public sector is a problem. The publicised cases of corruption involving politicians and public officials tend to be about kickbacks, palm greasing, rank pulling, and other misuse and abuse of public funds or public office.[5] According to National Integrity Country Study Reports for the South Pacific, the main drivers of corruption are: lack of a social and welfare system, lack of understanding about the causes and effects of corruption, lack of personal values to inhibit corruption, lack of personal responsibility and willingness to change, bureaucratic and regulatory inefficiencies, lack of watchdog agencies, lack of institutional capacity and mechanisms of accountability, lack of involvement, poor salaries, lack of political will, reluctance to enforce the law, lack of legislative mechanisms to punish and deter corruption, economic difficulties, and tradition and culture (National Integrity Systems Country Study Report Fiji, 2001; National Integrity Country Study Reports for the South Pacific, 2004; National Integrity Systems Pacific Islands Overview Report, 2004).

The reports of the Fijian Law Commission and National Integrity Systems highlight personal losses, loss of time, development costs, political costs, decline in work ethics and degradation of values and cost to the economy as costs of corruption to the nation (Fiji Law Reform Commission, 2003; National Integrity Systems Country Study Report Fiji, 2001). The coup in Fiji (5 December 2007) proposed a cleanup campaign against the widespread corruption prevalent in public services including the judiciary.[6] The establishment of e-governance systems in Fiji thus faces significant challenges.

Review of the context in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji indicates that corruption prevails in all three economies but with varying intensity. Bureaucratic corruption is common. Governments in the three countries have taken some initiatives in e-governance. However, studies reporting citizens' awareness and use of e-governance services and perceptions about the potential impacts of such services in curbing corruption in the public sector are absent. We, therefore, propose the following five major hypotheses to assess people's perceptions about corruption and e-governance:

Hypothesis 1 (H₁): People feel that corruption in the Jordanian, Ethiopian and Fijian public sectors is increasing.

Hypothesis 2 (H₂): People feel that bureaucratic corruption and demands for bribes are increasing in all three countries.

Hypothesis 3 (H₃): There is a very high degree of corruption in public service agencies/public servants in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji.

Hypothesis 4 (H₄): Members of the public are not aware of e-governance in Jordan,

Ethiopia and Fiji.

Hypothesis 5 (H_5): People in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji feel that e-governance can help in curbing public sector corruption.

3 Methodology

The study undertook a detailed review of the existing literature on e-governance in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji. This included different websites, government reports, project reports and research papers. Dimensions such as capability, citizens' and governments' needs, priority areas, problems and citizens' awareness about e-government mechanism to solve such problems were assessed along with underlying sub-dimensions. The study used an adapted version of a structured questionnaire developed by Pathak et al. (2007). Similar but contextualised questionnaires were developed for the three countries. The questionnaire carried statements to be rated on the Likert scale and some demographic questions as well. These questionnaires were administered to 412 sample respondents in Jordan and to 400 each in Ethiopia and Fiji. Respondents were selected using stratified sampling from Jordan (Amman, Irbid and Al Karak), Ethiopia (Akaki, Arada, Gulele, Kirkos, Kolfe, Lideta, Nifasilk and Yeka) and Fiji (Nausori, Suva, Navua, Nadi, Lautoka, Ba and Labasa). Focus group interviews were also conducted with government officials, academics and general citizens to probe further and to validate the findings. Respondents for focus group interviews were selected using convenience sampling.

The instruments were personally administered to target respondents by a team of trained graduates led by the co-authors in all the three countries. Assistance of trained graduates helped in seeking information conveniently to avoid barriers of language and to avoid response bias. Table 1 presents the demographic profile of respondents to whom the questionnaires were administered in the three countries. The data were analysed using SPSS software. Questionnaires covered the dimensions stated earlier using various constructs of scales. Reliability of these scales was measured using reliability coefficient (Cronbach, 1951), which fall between 0.6259 and 0.9980 for most of the itemised scales, except for a couple of scales where they were low. Most of the alpha scores were above the conventional

Table 1 Summarised demographic profile of the sample respondents*

Demographics	Percent			Demographics	Percent		
Age	*Jordan*	*Ethiopia*	*Fiji*	*Education*	*Jordan*	*Ethiopia*	*Fiji*
Under 25	12.9	26.8	39.5	University	74.0	78.8	44.0
26–39	76.0	55.5	45.7	Professional	3.9	15.8	9.5
Over 40	11.2	17.8	14.8	Other	22.1	5.6	46.5
Marital Status				*Job Status*			
Married	78.4	28.0	49.2	Business	17.7	14.3	2.7
Unmarried	18.4	70.3	50.8	Service	28.9	62.0	31.8
Widowed/Divorced	3.2	1.8	–	Housewives	15.0	0.8	5.0
Gender				Unemployed	4.4	1.5	1
Male	82.5	84	52.8	Students	33.5	19.3	7.7
Female	17.5	16	47.2	Others	0.5	2.3	51.8

*N = 1212 (412 for Jordan and 400 Each for Ethiopia and Fiji)

level of 0.7 (Nunnally, 1978), which revealed that the measures were reliable. Individual Cronbach Alpha scores are mentioned below each table in the analysis section. Validity of the questions and the findings were ensured through validity check questions, content validity and triangulation method.

Table 1 shows that the majority of respondents were middle aged (26–39 years). The majority were married and had university-level education. Male respondents dominated the sample profile and most of the respondents were employed. This indicates that the respondents from all three countries were responsible, educated and mature.

4   Analysis and findings

This section presents findings and analysis. Perceptions of citizens from Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji show that e-governance is expected to bring significant changes. In all three countries, people significantly perceived that e-governance will change the relationship between government and citizens; unite different actors in the fight against corruption; reduce monopoly; increase transparency, interaction and accountability; make boundaries of responsibility and actions visible; offer centralised data to citizens; lead to a decentralised model of corruption control; put a check on corrupt activities and increase coordination among citizens against corruption. While Ethiopian and Fijian citizens significantly felt that e-governance will make citizens self-sufficient in availing services, Jordanian citizens did not agree significantly. Ethiopian and Fijian citizens also felt that e-governance will streamline bureaucratic procedures in making operations efficient, but Jordanian citizens disagreed here too. The intensity of agreement was higher for Ethiopians, followed by Jordanians and Fijians as observed in the mean differences for the *t*-test scores (see Table 2).

Regarding features sought in an e-governance model, citizens in all three countries significantly perceived establishment of integrated information systems; easy information retrieval; interdepartmental coordination; improved efficiency and effectiveness; flexible

Table 2   Comparative account of people's perception on capabilities of e-governance*

Item No.		Country	SD (1)	D (2)	N (3)	A (4)	SA (5)	t Scores (Mean Difference)	Sig. of t at 5%
1	Change the relationship	Jordan	5	80	4	280	43	0.669	0.000
	between government and	Ethiopia	11	15	47	233	94	0.960	0.000
	citizens considerably	Fiji	63	75	9	157	96	0.415	0.000
2	Bring the different actors	Jordan	9	76	6	213	108	0.813	0.000
	together in fight against	Ethiopia	12	8	46	166	168	1.170	0.000
	corruption	Fiji	52	47	48	99	154	0.328	0.000
3	Reduce monopoly	Jordan	11	43	13	288	57	0.818	0.000
		Ethiopia	9	6	78	190	117	1.170	0.000
		Fiji	72	44	31	166	87	0.370	0.000
4	Increase the transparency	Jordan	14	41	26	301	30	0.708	0.000
	of the whole system	Ethiopia	4	29	62	179	126	0.980	0.000
		Fiji	50	78	19	157	96	0.640	0.000
5	Lead to a decentralised	Jordan	13	51	23	303	22	0.655	0.000
	model of corruption control	Ethiopia	11	15	40	170	164	1.150	0.000
		Fiji	77	43	27	175	78	0.380	0.000

Table 2   Comparative account of people's perception on capabilities of e-governance (continued)

Item No.		Country	SD (1)	D (2)	N (3)	A (4)	SA (5)	t Scores (Mean Difference)	Sig. of t at 5%
6	Make citizens self sufficient in availing services	Jordan	73	81	18	211	29	0.102	0.113
		Ethiopia	8	23	48	192	129	1.030	0.000
		Fiji	57	67	24	185	67	0.428	0.000
7	Increase accountability	Jordan	43	39	91	213	26	0.339	0.000
		Ethiopia	6	27	186	108	73	0.540	0.000
		Fiji	63	70	13	179	74	0.335	0.000
8	Streamline bureaucratic procedures to make operations more efficient	Jordan	22	201	31	120	38	−0.119	0.038
		Ethiopia	19	10	59	188	124	0.970	0.000
		Fiji	58	56	37	181	68	0.345	0.000
9	Increase coordination among citizens against corruption	Jordan	7	74	10	221	100	0.808	0.000
		Ethiopia	11	31	70	163	125	0.900	0.000
		Fiji	74	46	27	130	123	0.362	0.000
10	Offer centralised data to citizens for easy auditing	Jordan	13	91	33	201	74	0.563	0.000
		Ethiopia	6	15	41	208	130	1.100	0.000
		Fiji	57	70	20	202	51	0.445	0.000
11	Make public space more transparent reflecting achievements and setbacks	Jordan	3	80	17	300	12	0.578	0.000
		Ethiopia	3	19	53	173	152	1.130	0.000
		Fiji	63	50	34	155	98	0.300	0.000
12	Make the entire system open for better interaction	Jordan	11	100	21	271	9	0.405	0.000
		Ethiopia	4	15	62	194	125	1.050	0.000
		Fiji	66	62	19	107	146	0.438	0.000
13	Put a check on corrupt activities	Jordan	20	90	40	254	8	0.339	0.000
		Ethiopia	4	4	56	211	125	1.120	0.000
		Fiji	65	52	30	191	62	0.513	0.000
14	Make boundaries of responsibility and actions highly visible	Jordan	38	44	101	203	26	0.328	0.000
		Ethiopia	0	11	57	201	131	1.130	0.000
		Fiji	60	64	23	156	97	0.332	0.000

*Reliability of Scale (Cronbach Alpha): Jordan = 0.6667, Ethiopia = 0.8580, Fiji = 0.9920.

public services and cost savings as compelling reasons for adoption of e-governance. Ethiopians were higher in agreement than Jordanians and Fijians, respectively. Ethiopian and Fijian citizens considered improved information and communication within and between political and administrative arrangements as important reasons; Jordanian citizens revealed significant disagreements (see Table 3).

Transparency and accountability; citizens' participation in policy making; devising diverse citizen-centred services; need for bridging the digital divide and ensuring user friendliness, attractiveness and quality in services were significantly observed as the most compelling reasons for Governments to offer e-government services. Ethiopians revealed a higher agreement than the Jordanians and the Fijians, respectively. While Jordanian and Ethiopian citizens looked upon 'the visible impact of feedback' as another compelling reason, Fijians significantly disagreed on this attribute (see Table 4).

Table 3 Compelling reasons for development and implementation of e-governance*

Item No.		Country	SD (1)	D (2)	N (3)	A (4)	SA (5)	t Scores (Mean Difference)	Sig. of t at 5%
1	Improved information for decision making	Jordan	11	70	315	14	2	–0.180	0.000
		Ethiopia	0	15	67	144	174	1.190	0.000
		Fiji	92	53	27	160	68	0.147	0.043
2	Improved communication between political and administrative set-up	Jordan	33	99	190	64	26	–0.119	0.014
		Ethiopia	10	24	49	154	163	1.090	0.000
		Fiji	56	88	79	118	59	0.090	0.163
3	Internal communication	Jordan	36	90	203	74	9	–0.170	0.000
		Ethiopia	8	18	63	134	177	1.130	0.000
		Fiji	62	71	67	146	54	0.147	0.024
4	Establishment of Integrated Information systems	Jordan	8	17	293	81	13	0.177	0.000
		Ethiopia	7	10	52	124	207	1.290	0.000
		Fiji	45	92	41	144	28	0.045	0.434
5	Easy Information Retrieval	Jordan	17	39	247	91	18	0.131	0.001
		Ethiopia	10	4	90	85	211	1.210	0.000
		Fiji	57	87	30	160	66	0.228	0.001
6	Freedom to Access Information	Jordan	22	40	233	103	14	0.114	0.005
		Ethiopia	8	11	75	77	229	1.270	0.000
		Fiji	51	93	104	110	42	–0.002	0.967
7	Interdepartmental coordination	Jordan	18	49	201	81	63	0.296	0.000
		Ethiopia	0	20	65	164	151	1.120	0.000
		Fiji	89	55	35	152	69	0.143	0.049
8	Improved efficiency and effectiveness	Jordan	9	34	233	82	54	0.335	0.000
		Ethiopia	0	26	44	124	206	1.280	0.000
		Fiji	96	48	60	128	68	0.060	0.406
9	Increased public service flexibility	Jordan	13	14	247	79	59	0.381	0.000
		Ethiopia	2	20	75	147	156	1.090	0.000
		Fiji	55	82	52	137	74	0.232	0.001
10	Deterrent against corruption	Jordan	17	14	88	254	39	0.689	0.000
		Ethiopia	0	23	120	129	128	0.900	0.000
		Fiji	13	14	28	55	290	-	-
11	Increased public safety	Jordan	23	44	70	244	31	0.524	0.000
		Ethiopia	13	8	73	180	126	1.000	0.000
		Fiji	63	85	86	130	36	–0.022	0.716
12	Cost savings	Jordan	19	80	101	204	8	0.248	0.000
		Ethiopia	17	18	100	135	130	0.860	0.000
		Fiji	55	83	62	154	46	0.132	0.036

*Reliability of Scale (Cronbach Alpha): Jordan = 0.8194, Ethiopia = 0.9030, Fiji = 0.9800.

Regarding extended-service features (to make citizens attracted and aligned to the e-governance system), Table 5 shows that, in case of Jordan, features such as customised content, reliability and interactivity were given a high priority, whereas multi-channel capacity and ease of navigation were given a low priority. In Ethiopia and Fiji, customised content, reliability and interactivity, multi-channel capacity and ease of navigation were given a high priority for making e-governance attractive to citizens.

Table 4 Compelling reasons for public to utilise e-governance*

Item No.		Country	SD (1)	D (2)	N (3)	A (4)	SA (5)	t Scores (Mean Difference)	Sig. of t at 5%
1	Transparency and accountability	Jordan	0	53	201	118	40	0.352	0.000
		Ethiopia	11	14	48	166	161	1.130	0.000
		Fiji	38	95	20	128	119	0.487	0.000
2	Increased opportunity for participation in policy making	Jordan	9	37	113	233	20	0.529	0.000
		Ethiopia	13	24	83	129	151	0.950	0.000
		Fiji	32	116	91	117	44	0.062	0.281
3	Visible impact of feedbacks	Jordan	13	47	193	146	13	0.240	0.000
		Ethiopia	15	30	99	156	100	0.740	0.000
		Fiji	65	59	156	98	22	−0.118	0.036
4	Access to diverse services e.g. health, education…	Jordan	22	13	121	247	9	0.505	0.000
		Ethiopia	9	11	55	164	161	1.140	0.000
		Fiji	49	75	53	122	101	0.377	0.000
5	Access to developmental services e.g. Trade, employment…	Jordan	4	55	188	153	12	0.276	0.000
		Ethiopia	5	17	82	179	117	0.960	0.000
		Fiji	30	118	33	123	96	0.342	0.000
6	Government's effort to bridge the digital divide	Jordan	7	12	123	251	19	0.638	0.000
		Ethiopia	3	34	134	157	72	0.650	0.000
		Fiji	37	63	120	117	63	0.265	0.000
7	Citizen-centred services	Jordan	13	23	174	188	14	0.405	0.000
		Ethiopia	4	26	103	187	80	0.780	0.000
		Fiji	66	69	38	132	95	0.303	0.000
8	High quality of services	Jordan	34	30	93	233	22	0.434	0.000
		Ethiopia	8	21	71	141	159	1.050	0.000
		Fiji	43	88	50	142	77	0.305	0.000
9	Friendliness and attractiveness	Jordan	20	52	201	101	38	0.206	0.000
		Ethiopia	17	26	117	140	100	0.700	0.000
		Fiji	69	43	128	74	86	0.163	0.016

*Reliability of Scale (Cronbach Alpha): Jordan = 0.6259, Ethiopia = 0.8980, Fiji = 0.9660.

Table 6 indicates the augmented features necessary in any e-governance model to retain and satisfy customers in the long run. It was found that in the case of Jordan, all the items except item number 21 and 22 gained significant agreement to be incorporated in an e-governance model. The commonly agreed upon features were: online information, online transactions, 24/7 request submission, status query, receiving feedback, downloading information, tracking and tracing facility, virtual access to offices, time-saving mechanisms, decentralised services, free interaction and ease of access, reduced monopoly, easy determination of locus of accountability, elimination of middlemen, and less harassment of citizens. The features that did not secure common agreement were: monitoring responses for service quality, improved communication between interacting parties, services with friendliness and attractiveness of the government, streamlining procedures and establishing accountability and ease of coordination between offices and departments.

Table 5   Priority features necessary for making e-governance attractive to citizens*

Item No.		Country	SD (1)	D (2)	N (3)	A (4)	SA (5)	t Scores (Mean Difference)	Sig. at 5%
1	Customised content	Jordan	12	20	80	251	49	0.740	0.000
		Ethiopia	12	14	78	175	121	0.950	0.000
		Fiji	0	0	132	80	40	0.635	0.000
2	Interactivity	Jordan	6	50	234	70	52	0.272	0.000
		Ethiopia	5	13	65	167	150	1.110	0.000
		Fiji	0	0	21	112	119	1.389	0.000
3	Multichannel capacity	Jordan	30	70	251	30	31	–0.009	0.040
		Ethiopia	7	15	88	135	155	1.040	0.000
		Fiji	0	0	57	123	72	1.060	0.000
4	Ease of Navigation	Jordan	79	301	22	7	3	–1.082	0.000
		Ethiopia	11	33	88	142	126	0.850	0.000
		Fiji	0	0	44	139	69	1.099	0.000
5	Reliability	Jordan	22	40	100	197	53	0.530	0.000
		Ethiopia	4	10	95	113	178	1.130	0.000
		Fiji	0	0	100	108	44	0.778	0.000

*Reliability of Scale (Cronbach Alpha): Jordan = 0.3982, Ethiopia = 0.8540, Fiji = 0.7430.

Table 6   Citizens' Rating of features to be incorporated in e-Governance Model*

Item No.	Items	Country	SD (1)	D (2)	N (3)	A (4)	SA (5)	t Scores (Mean Difference)	Sig. at 5%
1	Making available the names, contact addresses, e-mails, fax numbers of Public Service officials online	Jordan	13	101	4	214	80	0.599	0.000
		Ethiopia	1	24	52	161	162	1.150	0.000
		Fiji	45	56	47	247	5	0.277	0.000
2	Discretion to Conduct transactions online	Jordan	9	41	13	270	79	0.896	0.000
		Ethiopia	3	25	63	225	84	0.900	0.000
		Fiji	45	56	47	230	22	0.320	0.000
3	Submitting Requests in any Public service organisation anytime 24/7	Jordan	13	60	16	301	22	0.627	0.000
		Ethiopia	0	27	64	191	118	1.000	0.000
		Fiji	45	56	47	181	71	0.442	0.000
4	Checking status of Query in the concerned Public service anytime	Jordan	33	67	19	276	17	0.430	0.000
		Ethiopia	3	11	64	205	117	1.050	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	234	18	0.337	0.000
5	Receiving Feedback	Jordan	14	38	11	292	57	0.825	0.000
		Ethiopia	6	18	38	167	171	1.200	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	148	104	0.553	0.000
6	Downloading related Information from the Public Service organisations	Jordan	34	81	37	199	61	0.417	0.000
		Ethiopia	4	9	41	192	154	1.210	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	55	197	0.785	0.000

Table 6   Citizens' Rating of features to be incorporated in e-Governance Model* (continued)

Item No.	Items	Country	SD (1)	D (2)	N (3)	A (4)	SA (5)	t Scores (Mean Difference)	Sig. at 5%
7	Tight control of transactions through tracking & tracing to check corrupt practices	Jordan	20	40	19	301	32	0.692	0.000
		Ethiopia	0	35	90	167	108	0.870	0.000
		Fiji	45	56	47	252	0	0.265	0.000
8	Monitoring responses for Service Quality	Jordan	44	217	102	40	9	−0.599	0.000
		Ethiopia	0	4	61	227	108	1.100	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	245	7	0.310	0.000
9	Improved Communication between interacting parties	Jordan	87	222	1	74	28	−0.646	0.000
		Ethiopia	4	12	36	200	148	1.190	0.000
		Fiji	45	49	54	23	229	0.855	0.000
10	Reduced Distance Problems & barriers of Time and Place	Jordan	35	64	13	257	43	0.507	0.000
		Ethiopia	3	8	30	163	196	1.350	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	240	12	0.322	0.000
11	Citizen Centred Services with friendliness and attractiveness	Jordan	12	270	21	95	14	−0.415	0.000
		Ethiopia	5	15	73	190	117	1.000	0.000
		Fiji	45	56	47	173	79	0.462	0.000
12	Reduced Time in dealing with Public Offices	Jordan	5	60	31	294	22	0.650	0.000
		Ethiopia	3	18	60	147	172	1.170	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.292	0.000
13	Decentralisation-Overcome Corruption and Favouritism	Jordan	12	48	32	277	43	0.706	0.000
		Ethiopia	9	10	79	184	118	0.980	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.292	0.000
14	Efficiency through Streamlined procedures	Jordan	57	192	33	102	28	−0.359	0.000
		Ethiopia	3	6	64	237	90	1.010	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.292	0.000
15	Ease of coordination within offices as well as between departments	Jordan	64	174	31	133	10	−0.362	0.000
		Ethiopia	4	16	33	200	147	0.172	1.17
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.292	0.000
16	Free interaction and ease of access to information	Jordan	21	141	28	189	33	−0.175	0.002
		Ethiopia	3	22	38	125	212	1.300	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.317	0.000
17	Reduced monopoly of power	Jordan	7	147	22	217	19	0.228	0.000
		Ethiopia	7	12	67	145	169	1.140	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.292	0.000
18	Ease in determining locus of accountability	Jordan	0	141	33	228	10	0.260	0.000
		Ethiopia	1	18	82	195	104	0.960	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.292	0.000
19	Elimination of Middlemen	Jordan	4	116	31	217	44	0.439	0.000
		Ethiopia	17	39	78	126	140	0.830	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.292	0.000
20	Less harassment of citizens in terms of demand for bribes etc	Jordan	19	133	22	204	34	0.245	0.000
		Ethiopia	1	17	90	158	134	1.020	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.292	0.000
21	Control over Red-tapism	Jordan	8	171	87	113	33	0.002	0.706
		Ethiopia	0	29	53	222	96	0.960	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.292	0.000

Table 6   Citizens' Rating of features to be incorporated in e-Governance Model* (continued)

Item No.	Items	Country	SD (1)	D (2)	N (3)	A (4)	SA (5)	t Scores (Mean Difference)	Sig. at 5%
22	Transparency in the whole system-including data; results etc	Jordan	17	161	77	108	49	0.003	0.634
		Ethiopia	6	11	41	176	166	1.210	0.000
		Fiji	45	45	58	252	0	0.295	0.000

*Reliability of Scale (Cronbach Alpha): Jordan = 0.8045, Ethiopia = 0.9310, Fiji = 0.9980.

4.1   Hypothesis testing results

Table 7 gives the summarised account of the perceptions of people regarding awareness of e-governance in their respective countries. The positive mean difference indicates that the responses are skewed towards a 'yes' response. The four hypotheses have been tested using t test by taking population mean value of '0' assuming it as an indifferent response. Furthermore, Table 8 presents the responses of citizens' perception of corruption in the public service agencies in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji. This table also presents the mean difference and significance level for the individual t test scores. A positive mean difference indicates that the responses are skewed towards 'yes or 'high' corruption response. This hypothesis was tested by taking population mean value of '3', assuming it as an indifferent response.

Using the analytical results from Tables 7 and 8, the following hypothesis testing results can be derived:

1   The hypothesis that 'People feel that corruption in the Jordanian, Ethiopian, and Fijian public sectors is increasing' was supported.

2   The hypothesis that 'People feel that bureaucratic corruption and demands for bribes are increasing' was supported.

Table 7   People's perception and awareness of e-governance*

	Statements	Country	Yes (1)	No (−1)	Can't say (0)	t scores (Mean Difference)	Significance at 5% level
1	Corruption in the Jordani-an/Ethiopian/Fijian public sector is increasing	Jordan	312	90	10	0.539	0.000
		Ethiopia	317	34	49	0.707	0.000
		Fiji	322	78	0	1.190	0.000
2	Bureaucratic Corruption and demands for bribe is increasing	Jordan	290	66	56	0.544	0.000
		Ethiopia	295	4	57	0.810	0.000
		Fiji	322	78	0	1.190	0.000
3	Are you aware of e-Governance	Jordan	285	100	27	0.449	0.000
		Ethiopia	272	85	43	0.467	0.000
		Fiji	264	136	0	1.340	0.000
4	Do you think that e-Governance can help in curbing public sector corruption	Jordan	250	138	24	0.272	0.000
		Ethiopia	217	18	41	0.721	0.000
		Fiji	253	147	0	1.370	0.000

*Reliability of Scale (Cronbach Alpha): Jordan = 0.9291, Ethiopia = 0.3920, Fiji = 0.7330.

Table 8 Citizens' perception of corruption in Public Service Agencies in Jordan Ethiopia and Fiji

Item No.	e-Governance will	Country	*No** *(1)*	*L (2)*	*M (3)*	*H (4)*	*VH* *(5)*	*Mean Difference*	*Significance at 5% level*
1	How do you find Public Service Agencies/ Public Servants in terms of corruption	Jordan	9	188	102	84	29	–0.155	0.002
		Ethiopia	0	25	143	159	73	0.700	0.000
		Fiji	0	24	54	136	186	1.015	0.000

*N = No corruption, *L* = low, *M* = Medium, *H* = High, *VH* = Very High corruption.

3 The hypothesis that 'There is a very high degree of corruption in public service agencies/ public servants in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji' was not supported for Jordan and supported for Ethiopia and Fiji. The modal value of responses indicates that respondents perceived a low degree of corruption in Jordan, whereas in Ethiopia and Fiji the modal value denotes higher perception of corruption.

4 The hypothesis that 'Jordanian, Ethiopian and Fijian public is not aware about e-governance' was not supported.

5 The hypothesis that 'People in Jordan/Ethiopia/Fiji feel that e-governance can help in curbing public sector corruption' was supported.

Finally, citizens' perception of corruption revealed that while a low degree of corruption was perceived in Jordan, a higher degree was perceived in Ethiopia and a much higher degree in Fiji.

5 Discussion and policy implications

This paper analyses citizen perceptions in a cross-country study on the basis that measurement of citizen perceptions provides information important to the effective implementation of e-governance systems. Hypotheses test results and discussions during interviews show that corruption exists in each country. Respondents felt that inflation, low-salary levels, hardships of life and family liabilities enticed public officials to accept bribes. However, respondents identified different reasons for corruption and its type, which takes a form of favouritism at one end, and demand for bribes or other tangible things at another. Citizens in each of the three countries perceived that e-governance could help curb corruption in the public sector.

The paper proposes that governments need to pay increased attention to citizen perceptions. The findings indicate that although citizen perceptions vary across the three countries, especially on corruption, citizens expect certain common features in an e-governance model and express specific needs. In view of this, the paper proposes that initiatives in e-governance (concepts, mechanisms, solutions and services to citizens) should be marketed like commercial products and services.

The essence of marketing is the identification of customer's need and delivering them in a most suitable manner to the satisfaction of consumers. Accordingly, we support the conclusions of Yonazi et al. (2010) about the importance of citizen preparedness and advocate that to Garson's (2005) four factors for assessing the success of any e-governance

initiative referred to above (infrastructure, computerisation and integration, legislation, and the attitude of enablers) a fifth factor – 'citizens' perception' should be added.

Governments in the three countries have each put a strong focus on e-governance. The above-mentioned findings show that respondents were aware of e-governance. It is clear from Table 2 that people hold positive perceptions of e-governance in all three countries. However, during administration of the questionnaire it was found that most respondents were not aware of existing e-governance products, outlets and mechanisms. Discussions with citizens in each country brought to our notice that their access to ICT was constrained in terms of availability of:

1   Modes of communication such as telephones, mobiles and TV broadcasts

2   Computer systems and internet in different regions

3   Knowledge of computers

4   Awareness of e-governance products targeted to them.

Specific services were not matched to specific needs. This is reflected in the findings in Table 3. Table 3 shows that citizens gave high priority in an e-governance model to establishment of integrated information systems; easy information retrieval; improved efficiency and effectiveness; and flexible public services, in line with the findings of Wu et al. (2009).

Insufficient access to pay telephones in urban areas and lack of internet connectivity in rural areas indicate that, internally, the three countries are divided between those with digital access and those without. In developing countries, there is a need for technological alternatives (e.g., landlines, mobiles, cable TV and information booths or kiosks) to reduce the digital divide and to deliver specific public services matched to specific needs. For example, discussions at some Ethiopian web forums reveal that 'ETC (the telecom monopoly company) is a major stumbling block towards getting a meaningful and affordable internet presence in Ethiopia' and 'Ethiopian farmers, businessmen and industrialists face a further isolation from the new digital global economy as access to the internet remains almost negligible'. Other researchers identify similar deficiencies (Akther et al., 2005; Subuddhi, 2009; Xiong, 2003; Mofleh et al., 2008; Purcell and Toland, 2004; Elsheikh et al., 2008). ICT projects should not be the end but the means.

Reconciling the literature reviewed, the results from the analysis and the discussions with citizens, we conclude that the digital divide and an urban bias are common problems in each of the three countries. While Ethiopia and Fiji are affected by monopoly in the telecommunication sector, Jordan no longer imposes any sort of monopolistic restrictions. In view of the corruption perception indices and respondents' opinion for Jordan vis-à-vis the other two, we postulate that liberalisation of the telecommunication sector could help Fiji and Ethiopia in their pursuit of cleaner governance. Furthermore, politically, Jordan has been a more stable country than Ethiopia and Fiji. Hence, we also postulate that stable governments can create better e-government perceptions among citizens assuming that more stable governments would be able to plan and implement e-governance services more effectively. Both of these postulates (liberalisation of the telecom sector and the stability of government) open opportunities for future study.

As reflected in the findings in Table 4, the three governments are making substantial efforts to improve citizen access and encourage use of e-government services and benefits.

However, focus group discussions revealed that respondents lack knowledge of outlets such as websites and other mechanisms. Table 3 shows that respondents did not believe that e-governance can make citizens self-sufficient in gaining access to services. In discussions with respondents in each country, a substantial majority did not witness any promotional measures or advertisements that creates awareness of e-governance products and services and tells how to use them. Collectively, it seems that implementation of e-governance lacks responsiveness to citizens' actual needs. It is proposed that governments of the three countries should assess more closely the needs of citizens and market e-governance concepts and services to specific targets. Weerakkody et al. (2007) also advocate that developing countries lack context-specific e-government programmes and marketing to promote e-government. Our findings along various dimensions could help governments prioritise services in core, extended and augmented form to keep citizens aligned and satisfied.

The following policy implications can be derived from the above-mentioned discussion:

- To match specific needs, there is a need for a marketing orientation in the identification and delivery of e-government services since the ultimate aim should be social inclusion and social well-being[7]. Government agencies need to market e-governance concepts and services in line with how business organisations market commercial products and services. Awareness campaigns of various forms that could reach target audiences and induce them to utilise services effectively are also suggested.

- To curtail digital divides and urban bias, alternative technologies for delivering e-governance need to be formulated and services designed to fit the needs of different segments of citizens.

- Governments in developing countries need to design specific strategies to curb corruption and demands for bribes. Reliance solely on e-governance to curb corruption might not be effective in dealing with existing corruption, which, in turn, might adversely affect the implementation of e-governance projects.

- Developing countries with monopolies in the telecom sector need to review their policies with a view to introducing competition in provision of such services.

- Governments in developing countries need to put considerable efforts to provide a stable government that creates a stable environment, builds trust and mitigates uncertainty.

We consider that these policy suggestions provide relevant insights to other developing countries, which aim to design, deliver, or improve e-government services. However, interpretations of the findings need special care, as the study was limited to only three developing countries.

6 Conclusions

E-governance offers great potential benefits to citizens. However, it is evident from this study that only a limited section of citizens is aware of e-governance in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji. Though governments in Jordan, Ethiopia and Fiji are making commendable initiatives in e-governance, most of the provisions are not known to citizens and lack proper marketing. There is a perception that corruption is a common phenomenon in the entire public sector in each of the three countries. The digital divide and urban bias are the other problems that

restrict the scope of e-governance to major cities. Also, the availability of internet services and ability to access available services is still a problem. As a result, concrete steps need to be taken to strengthen e-governance.

Formulation and design of alternative technologies for delivering e-governance services to different segments can help in curtailing the digital divide and urban bias. However, the implementation of e-governance in the three developing countries studied has revealed significant challenges. Transformation of developing countries into digital societies requires more than existing government initiatives. Socio-cultural issues need involvement of citizens at the grassroots level. Significant technical issues demand wider telecommunication access to achieve more effective penetration of e-governance initiatives. To make e-governance a success, citizens need to be motivated to actively participate in the process. Governments and citizens of developing countries can make e-governance happen provided strategies are carved out in such a way that citizens' expectations are addressed and they are able actually to make use of digital services. Marketing of e-services is, therefore, vital to success.

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Notes

[1]CPI Score relates to perceptions of the degree of corruption as seen by business people and country analysts and ranges between 10 (highly clean) and 0 (highly corrupt). Iceland

acquires a score of 9.7 as highly clean country whereas Bangladesh and Chad both acquires scores of 1.7 as highly corrupt countries. (See, http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2005).

[2]See http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2007 <January 10, 2008>

[3]See http://www.transparency.org/content/download/23978/358254 <January 10, 2008>

[4]See http://www.buyusa.gov/jordan/en/bestprospectsectors.html <April 2009>

[5]Country Governance Assessments: Governance in the Pacific: Focus for Action 2005–2009. Available: http://www.adb.org/Documents/Books/Governance-in-the-Pacific/part2.pdf [2005, 10 June].

[6]"Military commander Commodore Frank Bainimarama, who appointed an interim government with himself as Prime Minister after ousting elected leader Laisenia Qarase on 5 December, has promised to call elections to restore democracy, but not until he has completed what he calls a campaign to clean up graft, which he alleges was allowed to fester" Retrieved February, 5 2007 from:http://breakingnews.iol.ie/news/story.asp?j=31671465&p=3y67y57z.

[7]Our recommendations are in line with McIntyre-Mills (2010) who strongly argues that democracy is to be re-worked in such a way that collective needs of the people (based on users perceptions) are married to decentralised policy making, to address complex multifaceted problems.